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Andriy Sidiyak

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Fiasco of Irene Zelena's Mission

On November 22, 1983, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR and the Board of the Journalists' Union of the Ukraine held a news conference in Kiev for both Soviet and foreign journalists. It served as yet another exposé of the subversive activities of U.S. and West German espionage centers and their faithful servants—Ukrainian nationalists affiliated to the so-called Foreign Branches, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (FB OUN) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)—directed against the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, and other countries of the socialist community.

The reason for calling that conference was the detention, by officials of the Polish Ministry of the Interior, of a French woman "tourist" by the name of Irene Zelena in the town of Bytom in August 1983. Polish authorities had found in her possession documents and literature that couldn't have anything to do with her alleged status as a tourist but which had plenty to do with her actual mission as a spy.

During the news conference in Kiev, the media people in attendance heard a detailed statement made by Mikhailo Kukhtiak, a Soviet citizen, resident of the city of Ivano-Frankivsk. He started his story with the following words: "All that has happened to this nationalist emissary in Poland, as well as all that which relates to the uncovering of the subversive and espionage activities of OUN and the Anti-Bol-

shevik Bloc of Nations has a most direct bearing on me."

But who is Mikhailo Kukhtiak?

He was ten years old when the last gunshots of the Second World War were fired (1945). It is anyone's guess what course the life of this young boy from a village in Ternopil Region would have taken, had it not been for the historic reunification of the Western Ukrainian lands with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1939, and if the Soviet Army had not chased the Nazi invaders out of the Ukraine in 1944. Anyway, as a citizen of a socialist state of the whole people which expresses the will and interests of the workers, farmers and the intelligentsia, of the entire working people of the Republic, of all nationalities (it is thus Article 1 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR determines the political essence of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mikhailo Kukhtiak received a secondary and then a higher, medical, education. He was appointed as a lecturer at the Medical Institute of Ivano-Frankivsk and is currently fruitfully engaged in the noble mission of training future doctors — people representing the world's most humane profession.

But why should he have found himself in the whirlpool of events linked with the subversive and espionage endeavors of foreign, anti-Soviet centers?

Here is what M. Kukhtiak stated at the conference in Kiev:

"Everything started with my correspondence with some of the relatives who, by a stroke of severe fate, had found themselves in Canada

and the United States. The letters we exchanged were plain ordinary messages, expected to be sent and received by relatives, except that eventually there began to arrive people from abroad who were complete strangers to me, but who brought with them souvenirs, allegedly sent by my relations there, and who had pleasant words for me, while putting in questions concerning life in our country. They were looking for some negative phenomena; by all means they wanted to gain possession of anti-Soviet literature, pictures and drawings done by 'unrecognized geniuses.'

"At the beginning, I didn't pay serious attention to what my guests said, just as I seem to have ignored their points of interest that were exclusively one-sided and purposeful, so to say. 'What can one expect from such people?' I thought. 'These individuals are supposed to have been raised thus, in their own environment.' Still, my passive attitude, and particularly the yes-man approach I had assumed by the time proved to have been evaluated, abroad, as an equivalent of my consent to cooperate with them...

"Finally, they made me face it: the foreign nationalist center had come to view me as one of their adherents. What was more, they were being quite appreciative of my previous cooperation, so that now they felt prepared to accept me as their 'assistant' or 'representative' — a person who would obediently follow their instructions."

In the opinion of the nationalist upper echelons, all that had taken place in that case thus far was something "absolutely to be expected."



Mikhailo Kukhtiak speaking at the news conference in Kiev

Thus, the Western clandestine agencies had mistaken M. Kukhtiak's silence for his "silent consent," even if it was a mere nodding of the head or shrugging of the shoulders, while several casual remarks he had made had led them to believe that the man had really embarked on an anti-Soviet career.

What actually happened, however, ran counter to the expectations of all those nationalist "man-hunters" in the West. Mikhailo Kukhtiak understood that he was being guided toward a road leading to hostile anti-Soviet activities. At the news conference in Kiev, he declared the following: "I did not hesitate in choosing

the only right course of action when I turned to the bodies of State security for help. They entrusted me with participation in an operation designed to reveal the hostile nature of the activities of OUN and ABN in regard to the Soviet people." That time, M. Kukhtiak, his line of conduct agreed upon, had to convince all those nationalist bodies, in words, that he indeed shared their ideas, and that he was even prepared to lend them a hand.

In August 1978, Dmytro Farion, a nationalist courier agent who had been sent from Parma, Ohio, acting as a tourist, delivered a report to his immediate superior, Yaroslav Stetsko, leader of ABN-OUN, in which Kukhtiak was described as a "reliable person, even though he belongs to the younger generation. He is ... an energetic and yet careful and considerate man who can get his work organized."

In order to win this reputation, M. Kukhtiak had had to work very hard and come out victorious of more than one intellectual and ideological duel with emissaries sent from and thoroughly brainwashed by the C.I.A. and the West German *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND—Federal Intelligence Service).

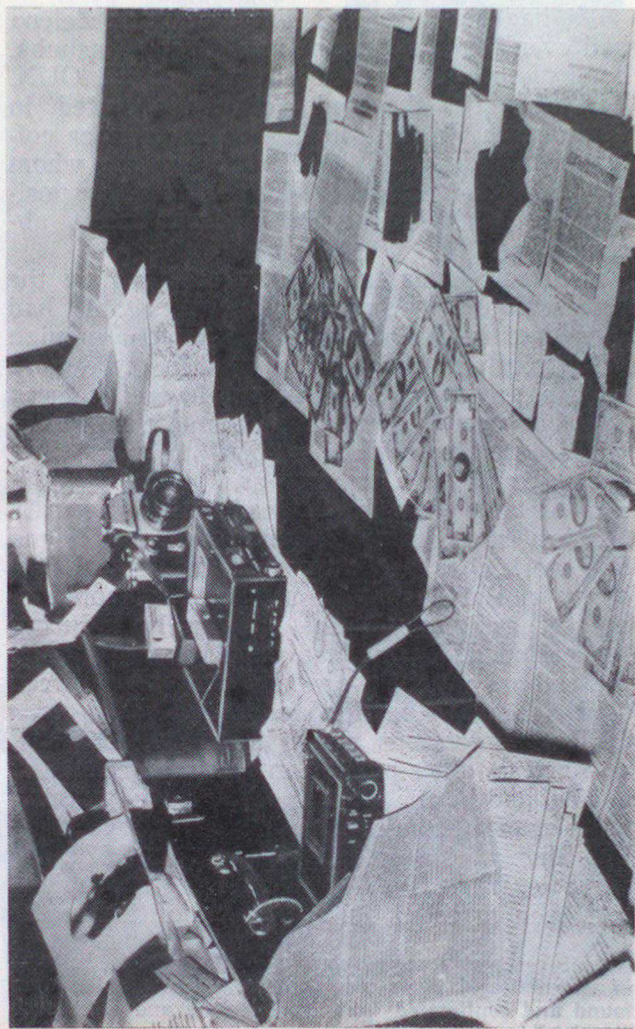
At the news conference in Kiev, Mikhailo Kukhtiak, answering a question posed him by a *Novosti* Press Agency reporter, stated that "Stetsko looked forward to having 'his own man' planted in the Ukraine, even if it were only on paper. In his letter of January 1979, he wrote that he regarded me as a leader. It was thus, by the stroke of Stetsko's pen, that I became an OUN functionary under the alias of *Orest*."

Irene Zelena was one of the many contacts the OUN-ABN leadership sent to "their man." After she was apprehended by people from the Polish Ministry of the Interior, she admitted that she had arrived in Poland on instructions from the FB OUN chief, Ya. Stetsko, and that she had been assigned to meet with his "adherents" there to provide them with additional directives, cash (including over two thousand U.S. dollars), and slanderous literature manufactured at Western subversive ideological centers.

Irene Zelena disclosed eight specially designed hiding places in her suitcase. These were opened in her presence and produced incriminating printed matter which she had illegally brought across the Polish border. Every item thus discovered was duly identified and filmed in accordance with Polish Criminal Law. The film was demonstrated during the news conference in Kiev, providing irrefutable, documented evidence of the antipopular activities of foreign subversive centers and testifying that these activities are doomed to exposure and failure.

In her progress on the road of malignant anti-Sovietism, Irene Zelena must have certainly been guided by her father, Petro Zeleny. Early during the Great Patriotic War (1941—1945), he had deserted from the Red Army and sided with the Nazis. Eventually, he had fled to the West, together with the retreating and badly shaken *Wehrmacht* forces.

Documents, technical appliances and money sent by the "Center". (Part of the exhibits displayed at the news conference held in Kiev Nov. 22, 1983.) →



It had been through him that Irene Zelena had eventually met with Ivan (John) Kashuba, head of the SB 'Security Service' of FB OUN. For a while she had actively operated in Paris, as his agent, spying on her former colleagues from OUN (Melnyk), against whom FB OUN had constantly fought over key positions within the nationalist communities abroad.

Ivan Kashuba, apparently satisfied by the professional performance of his agent, had sponsored Irene's tuition at the "Free Ukrainian University" in Munich, but even then he wouldn't let her stay "idle"; the woman had often been sent on special missions to Bandera's Ukrainian Youth Association (Ukr. abbr., SUM) camps in West Germany and Great Britain. Her contacts with the SB nationalist "Security Service" had continued even when Irene Zelena had worked as a secretary at the Israeli Embassy in Paris. Notwithstanding the more important assignments she had received during the period, I. Zelena had used her capacity at the embassy to help promote contacts between OUN's Bandera faction and the Zionists.

Her confessions made it evident that she, as much as other participants in the nationalist bodies, had at one time or other proved nothing more than just another pawn being moved by Ya. Stetsko, leader of FB OUN. In 1972, for example, Yaroslav Dobosh, a Belgian subject, had been arrested by Soviet authorities in the

A suit case with secret compartments (double bottom) in which illegal items were hidden. These articles were found and confiscated from Irene Zelena and other such "tourists" →



Ukraine. In 1977, the same thing had happened to Andrew Klymchuk, a British subject. Both had been trained and brainwashed by the same nationalist SUM Ukrainian Youth Association. Both had confessed to having received from FB OUN special instructions concerning the execution of their hostile missions on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, and both nationalist secret agents had been eventually detected, apprehended and evicted from the country.

Other such ventures, involving similar emissaries representing nationalist organizations and Western spy centers could be cited here, but this would make the list far too long...

Local Polish authorities that handled the Irene Zelena case took into account the woman's sincere repentance, as well as her voluntary cooperation in helping the Polish Ministry of the Interior to reveal the identities of the actual organizers of her clandestine trip to Poland. They ruled that all criminal charges against her be dropped and she be subjected to what is known as "administrative measures." She was simply ordered out of the Polish People's Republic.

It was thus the covert mission of Irene Zelena suffered its spectacular fiasco. The news conference in Kiev produced rock-like evidence to the effect that FB OUN, as well as the intelligence agencies of West Germany and the United States had been directly involved in that woman's assignment.

"Backstage" Characters

In June 1983, marking the first anniversary of President Reagan's "freedom crusade," the U.S. bourgeois press decided to highlight some of the veteran "freedom fighters." Its attention was drawn by the odious figure of Yaroslav Stetsko who had begun his "fight" under the guardianship of the Italian fascists and German Nazis. Having in mind that one small fish was better than an empty dish, they let Ya. Stetsko into the office of *The Washington Times* diplomatic correspondent Peter Almond.

Less than three months remained till the shattering exposé of Irene Zelena's covert mission in Poland and Stetsko's apparent involvement with it.

Yaroslav Stetsko, this "small, thin man" with crooked body and rotten soul, was progressively less sure of himself, trying to dodge the journalist's questions. For so many years he had been convincing himself of one and the same maxim, and now he was beating a retreat, giving a start every time the photographer's camera shutter clicked.

"I was prime minister of the Ukraine," he announced at one point.

"What do you mean by 'was'?" Peter Almond asked angrily for he knew that less than two years back, Maria Riccardi of *The Washington Post*, the rival newspaper, had mentioned that the man "introduced himself as 'Stetsko, prime minister of the Ukraine.'" How could he have possibly claimed he was

one when now he was implying that he had held the post for some time in the past?

What had seemed an easy sensation was melting right before Peter Almond's eyes. The question he posed next was a trump card meant to save the editor's assignment and his own interview:

"What steps, in your opinion, should President Reagan take presently?"

"I think Reagan's foreign policy is better than that of previous administrations..." Ya. Stetsko numbed out of place. Then having realized that the interviewer probably wanted to hear something different he added: "It is necessary to break economic relations with the Soviet Union".

"So you would suggest that the United States agitate even more, even encouraging an armed uprising?" Peter Almond tried to keep the interview on course.

Ya. Stetsko was obviously "out of shape." This "small thin man" who habitually relies on printed text when advocating the strive for "independence" actually suffers from a kind of "dependence complex." Without his "brain-trust" — meaning his wife Slava-Henya, a "Bachelor" of God-knows-what Science — Stetsko is nothing but the *halbporzion*, the inferior creature, as his acquaintances in West Germany call him. The significant fact remains that Ya. Stetsko would have never been able to take any steps on his own if it hadn't been for all the instructions, "straight as a dart," on the part of his superiors from the C.I.A. and their *Bundesnachrichtendienst* counterparts in West Germany.

He had acted that way when serving the Nazis as their unquestioning, ruthless tool in enforcing their "new order." That had been long before he would set about winning confidence from U.S., British and French secret agents and counterintelligence officers.

Ya. Stetsko had proved his true Nazi worth in *Wehrmacht*-occupied Lviv, this ancient Ukrainian city. On June 30, 1941, acting on instructions from the *Abwehr*,* rather than what he claimed at the time was the "behalf" and "will" of the Ukrainian people, he had announced the formation of the "Provincial Administration of the Western Regions of the Ukraine."

Later, Ya. Stetsko and his acolytes would exert Herculean efforts to portray the miserable handful of Ukrainian Nazi yes-men they had put together as some "popular assembly" and the puppet Provincial Administration as the "government of the Ukraine." In June 1983, *The Washington Times* carried an interview with Ya. Stetsko in which he claimed that he had "proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian state against the will of Nazi Germany." In actuality, the "proclamation," made in June 1941, had been an act in realizing plans that had been drawn up by the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* in Berlin and aimed at physically destroying and morally wrecking the Soviet

* Department for Intelligence and Counterintelligence under the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Third Reich.

people. Nor was it coincidental that it had been done in accordance with an *Abwehr* scenario, directly involving its brass hats. An official account of that event in 1941 pointed out that the "delegate of the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and all those present welcomed with a great deal of warmth and sincerity the high-ranking officers of the German Army who attended the meeting. Prof. Koch, onetime colonel of the Ukrainian Galician Army, a representative of the German Army, also greeted those present and called on them for working for and most actively collaborating with the German Army..."

Hans Koch did raise his voice during that gathering (in reality, he had never been a colonel but merely *sotnyk* (captain) of that nationalist Ukrainian Galician Army—1919-20—now *Hauptmann* of the *Abwehr*), severely reminding those present that it was time they got down to business.

Stetsko's "administration" promptly responded to that directive of the Nazi occupiers by butchering Lviv residents who, because of their "non-Aryan" background, or due to other reasons, had been entered in the black lists of the Ukrainian Nazi *Nachtigall* punitive battalion. Roman Shukhevych, a member of Stetsko's "government" and *Hauptmann* of the *Abwehr*, was one of the leaders of this battalion.

The very "act of assembling the Provincial Administration of the Western Regions of the Ukraine" contained the promise that the nationalists would "closely cooperate with the Great National-Socialist Germany." Ya. Stetsko's autobiography, which he submitted to his Nazi

No 10868 E. 1941
UKRAINISCHE REGIERUNG

No 17/41

Seiner Exzellenz
dem Führer und Reichskanzler

Berlin.

Eure Exzellenz!

Voll aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit und Anerkennung:
Ihre heldenmütige Armee, die sich auf den Schlachtfeldern
in Zusammenarbeit mit dem größten Feinde Europas, den
westeuropäischen Bolschewikern, vieler neuen Ruhm erworben
hat, senden wir Ihnen, dem grossen Führer, in Namen des
ukrainischen Volkes und seiner Regierung, die sich in
der befreiten Lemberg gebildet hat, herzlichste
wünsche, den Kampf mit endgültigem Sieg zu krönen.

Der Sieg der deutschen Waffe wird Ihnen die
Lieblichkeit verschaffen, den von Ihnen geplanten Aufbau der
neuen Europa auch auf seinen ukrainischen Teil auszuwirken.
Auf diese Weise haben Sie auch dem ukrainischen Volk er-
möglichst, sich an der Verwirklichung dieses grossen Lebens
aktive zu beteiligen, als eines der vollberechtigten freien
Mitglieder der europäischen Völkerfamilie, in seinem vollen
vernehmen ukrainischen Staat.

Für die Ukr. Ukraine Regierung:

Yaroslav Stetsko

Yaroslav Stetsko
Chef



E292958

Photo copy of Yaroslav Stetsko's letter to Hitler
(07.03.41)

patrons, contains an explanation of what the "independence" of his administration was in reality: "The government embarked on practical work, organizing the economy, administration, militia, etc., striving to establish a most active sort of cooperation with the German military functionaries, supporting and assisting their efforts in every possible way, using its own resources to provide whatever aid the German Armed Forces required."

Hard as Ya. Stetsko tried to curry favors with all those "military functionaries," particularly with the SS, the occupiers, drunken with the blood of their victims and their temporary front-line accomplishments, made up their mind to disband the recently proclaimed "Provincial Administration." Today, Ya. Stetsko tries to present that particular fact as some "evidence of the conflict" that had allegedly arisen between the nationalists and the German Nazi invaders. Still, he shouldn't count much on the sympathy and credulity of his audiences, because there also exists the all-too-well-known incriminating evidence of his devout service for the Nazis. Even as one and all had been convinced of the impending downfall of the Third Reich, Ya. Stetsko chose to join the *Werwolf** to conduct subversive, terroristic activities against the victorious Allies. The only reason he quit its ranks (the *Werwolf* had been the last means of murder and ruination to which the Third Reich elite resorted) was the

* (Lit., "werewolf") an underground organization set up by the Nazis in April 1945 for subversion and terrorism against the Soviet Union and other members of the Anti-Hitler Coalition.

wound he received riding in a truck within an SS motorcade when the latter was attacked by U.S. aircraft.

Stetsko's adventuresome disposition, as much as his inherent bend on falsehood, eventually became quite some pain in the neck of the nationalists, too. The OUN-controlled magazine *Ukrainskyi Samostiinyk* (The Ukrainian Independent), based in Munich, was at one time forced to concede that "Stetsko is sick, suffering from the rather hazardous phobia of overexaggeration, pathological imagining and fantastic visions, in which he must have come to believe. All this happens exactly the way he had (at one time) imagined himself as having been Prime Minister of the Ukraine; currently, he believes that, being in Munich, he is leading a revolution of liberation involving all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR."

According to some of the nationalists who had affiliated themselves with the Bandera faction after OUN's breakup, Stetsko described them as a "pack of hungry wolves." It is also true, however, that after Yaroslav Stetsko had succeeded Stephen Bandera in the top leadership he no longer ventured such verbal attacks on the OUN of his own. The question remains, though, whether that "pack of hungry wolves" is less bloodthirsty under the new leader.

Stetsko's many-sided identity (*Karbovich, Belendis, Basmach, Dankiv, Orach, Rizbar* are only some of his aliases under which he was known at different secret agencies and among the nationalists) is complemented in many respects by his wife, Yevhenia-Slava-Henya.

From her "family chronicles" it is known

that her mother was a mental case, and that she died at an asylum. Her sisters, Stepanida and Maria, both suffered from mental disorder. As for *Henya's* state of mind, its foundation was laid not with the genes inherited from her mother alone. The woman's psyche was being formed under the influence of the Nazi postulates which were propagated by ideologues of the Ukrainian nationalism. In the early 1940s, she, then a young OUN *pidreferent* (junior executive), known under the alias of *Tyrsa*, regarded the misanthropic writings of Dmytro Dontsov, one of such ideologues, as her reference book. Her megalomania led her to meet the self-styled "Premier", Yaroslav Stetsko. Two maniacs had thus found one another. Though gossips are being spread that *Henya* got herself into the mess after her marriage to Stetsko, the latter, in his turn, knows too well what his wife's Napoleonic complexes feel like.

The peculiarities of the Stetskos' "inner world" could have not been mentioned if they were not manifested outwardly and were not directed against the life and security of other people. To meet their maniacal goals Ya. Stetsko and his wife Yevhenia more than once came out with statements which revealed their readiness to see millions of humans cast upon the sacrificial altar. Sometimes, Mr. Stetsko openly follows Western propaganda standards when publicly praising the U.S. idea of a neutron bomb as a means of securing a "limited," "more humane" armed conflict among nations (in his speech during the latest Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Na-

tionalists he philosophized that "there are no alternatives for NATO...except a limited nuclear warfare"). This man, however, appears to be fascinated by the prospect of a worldwide nuclear confrontation, for it takes a badly deranged individual to make Stetsko's appeal; "Let all of the Communist Ukraine die; new cadres will come from Toronto, London, Madrid..."

Ya. Stetsko's crimes perpetrated during WWII most certainly reserve him a "place of honor" in the dock of a court of law. In fact, the admission alone he made in his autobiography submitted to his bosses at the Nazi-sired "Ministry of Occupied Eastern Territories" would be enough to find Ya. Stetsko guilty. In particular, the autobiography makes clear what the author has obviously adopted as a key principle of his own, utterly criminal, conduct:

"My works make my *Weltanschauung* conception quite unambiguous;

"OUN *... is by and large hostile toward Marxism and democracy...

"In terms of my own political stand, I am for an authoritarian order in the Ukraine, for a single party — and for nationalist solidarity in the social plane — which is close to the National-Socialist (i.e., Nazi=A.S.) ** program.

"We are all out for rendering the best possible economic aid as required by Germany

* Here Ya. Stetsko inserted the following statement: "I have been among the authors of the ideology and program of this organization."

** Parenthetical comments followed by these initials in boldface indicate that they belong to the author of this booklet, Andriy Sidiyak.

which we shall secure by using all possible means."

There are still war criminals who remain unpunished. Their very existence poses quite some threat to peace, to the life of other people, the more so that these characters locate one another, form groups and conduct propaganda for another worldwide bloodshed.

Ya. Stetsko is certainly careful to uphold affiliation and contacts with all those VIP's who direct his practical endeavors in the West. In the past, he used to be closely in touch with the Italian fascists and German Nazis. At present, he seems to attach major importance to the maintenance of contacts with the militant U.S. supporters of a "crusade against communism."

Stetsko's long-term cooperation with the Nazis is what definitely makes him feel particularly close to Theodore Oberlender, once an officer of the *Abwehr* and the political leader of the Nazi punitive battalions *Nachtigall* and *Bergmann*, which operated on the temporarily occupied territories of the Ukraine and the Caucasus. Later on, Oberlender found himself appointed to a West German ministerial post, only to be kicked out of it because of his Nazi past that had by then been established beyond reasonable doubt.

Ya. Stetsko collaborated with Oberlender especially closely during the heinous massacre of Ukrainians, Poles and Jews in Lviv (July 1941).

In 1944, he took part in a discussion involving Stephen Bandera and Hitler's favorite hatchet man, *SS Obersturmbahnführer* Otto

Skorzeny, which focused on possible subversive missions behind the Red Army lines.

Stetsko and Oberlender also joined efforts to emerge in the upper echelons of the European Freedom Council (another anticommunist body, founded in 1967). Together, they posed for media cameramen during the conference sittings of yet another formation of anti-Soviet ideological saboteurs, the so-called World Anti-Communist League.

Ya. Stetsko's meeting with select Nazi functionaries, which he advertises here and there, provoke displeasure even within the nationalist camp, because this publicity prevents the OUNites, and other Nazi collaborators, from totally dissociating themselves from their previous activities as war criminals.

When Ya. Stetsko was granted an audience with the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, former leader of the falangist fascist movement in that country (back in July 1941, he had forwarded his warmest wishes for the triumph of a "new, just fascist order" to the address of the Spanish dictator), *Ukrainskyi Samostinyk* raged that "today Ya. Stetsko travels to Spain, making fools of that country and its ministers, claiming that he is Prime Minister of some 'Liberated Ukraine,' and it is on this footing that he gains an access to the leading functionaries there."

During his visits to the United States and while staying in Munich, Ya. Stetsko did not spare his efforts to add to the war hysteria, calling on for a "nuclear crusade" against the Soviet Union and trying his hardest to draw the attention of the upper crust to his person.

Obviously, Ya. Stetsko felt far from content with his unadvertised, though long-standing, collaboration with all those German "military functionaries."

Be as it may, Ya. Stetsko's "field day" finally came when people in Washington had started to use his name. In 1981, during the U.S.-sponsored anti-Soviet "Captive Nations Week," Ya. Stetsko, this inveterate anti-Semite, terrorist and pathological enemy of any form of democracy, found himself being given a reception at the American Congress. He was also interviewed by *The Washington Post*. Two years later, the situation was practically repeated, except that the role of the travelling salesman determined to promote some lousy merchandise come what may was assumed by *The Washington Times*.

Key Aspect of Activity

Printed material, money, parcels and the so-called "organization letters" — i.e., written instructions — that were forwarded to the fake addresses of Mikhailo Kukhtiak (alias *Orest*) by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Foreign Branches, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (FB OUN) constitute irrefutable evidence of the espionage interests of these foreign organizations.

The instructions demanded the setting up of "separate, discrete, uncontrolled lines of access across the border-lines." Their authors did their best to impress on *Orest* that it was "high time the creation of uncontrolled under-

ground routes became a reality," hinting at the underlying purpose of such "discrete lines"; "...there was time when we sent people there with weapons in their hands, who crossed frontiers."

Under Ya. Stetsko's instructions, this work had to be carried out parallel to the steps being taken by all those "foreign centers." The latter, as is obvious from the documents of the so-called "Sixth Grand Assembly of OUN," demand that all OUN members travel to the Soviet Union "in accordance with a plan drawn up by the *provid* leadership," "make themselves part of the processes under way there," and "report on what they have seen there." These sophisticated formulas are rather transparent lies, in that all such trips, made by OUN officials to the Ukraine "in accordance with a plan drawn up by the *provid* leadership" were nothing other than clandestine, espionage missions. Nor was it coincidental that Mikhailo Kukhtiak mentioned espionage as precisely the key aspect of the ABN and FB OUN activities.

Below is essentially what those documents, sent from abroad, contained:

The first batch which arrived in 1976 in a suitcase with 12 secret compartments included documents and resolutions of the so-called "Fifth Grand Assembly of OUN" which Ya. Stetsko sent for "guidance" and "orientation." A separate resolution, titled "Tasks of OUN Cadres," contained a chapter headed "OUN Efforts in Native Territories." It offered directives whose espionage and subversive character was beyond doubt:

"Study the organization of the Army and analyze the data concerning the economic potential of the Ukraine";

"Make use of the revisionist and reformist trends in the USSR and... shake loose the system";

"Pay close attention to men and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces";

"OUN collects and studies facts..., examines biographies";

"Cause chaos in enemy ranks" (the Sixth Grand Assembly of OUN also introduced the above as a categorical proviso, declaring that "destabilization" and "fermentation" had to be brought about as one of the elements of OUN's strategy — A. S.);

"Look for (new) people..."

The above sentence was actually followed by three dots in the nationalist directive, leaving the meaning to the reader's guess. Quite some other clause were numbered, although those were specified by the sticker "Not to be published."

The essence of these secret provisos was partially disclosed and rendered detailed commentaries by Dmytro Farion in 1976.

It was through him that people in the spy centers overseas found themselves wondering about:

"the advisability of terrorist and subversive acts in the Ukraine";

"the effectiveness of broadcasts by foreign radio stations";

"the destiny and place of confinement of in-

dividuals condemned by Soviet courts of law because of their criminal deeds";

"who could be advertised in the West as victims of the regime, as martyrs, prisoners of conscience, etc., so as to organize 'relief' and fund-raising campaigns in their behalf abroad (some of the proceeds would be more than likely to land in the nationalist VIP pockets)."

The espionage assignments received from abroad, it should be noted, were by no means the result of Ya. Stetsko's special, exceptional confidence in people "from the Old Country" (i.e., from the Ukraine). Rather, they must have stemmed from the direct pressure he was brought to bear on the part of the C.I.A. and the West German *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND) which wanted the Stetsko-run nationalist espionage outfits to concentrate on what they formulated as "seeking out," "studying" and "destabilizing."

Dmytro Farion's wife, Maria, was also sent to the Ukraine, on a mission outlined and determined by Western centers. Acting as a tourist, she delivered the first "organization letter" several months after her husband's visit.

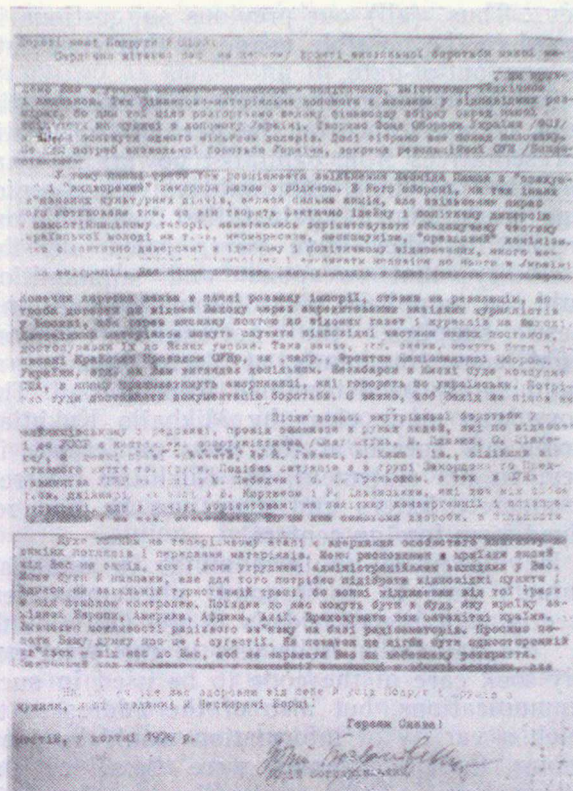
Its author (he chose to identify himself as "Yuri Bohdanivsky" — a code name, no doubt) tried to bribe the possible adherents. "Financial and material aid," the letter read, "is possible in an acceptable amount, for over here we are in the process of launching a big funding campaign... We are setting up a Ukrainian Defense Fund (Ukr. abbr., FOU), meaning to scrape up one million dollars... This (money) will be used for the needs..., particularly those of the revolutionary OUN (Bandera faction)."

To back up its "financial and material aid," that particular nationalist center forwarded that time a total of 2,200 U.S. dollars.

After pledging further support out of the OUN (Bandera) purse, the said "Yuri Bohdanivsky" proceeded to list his own concrete requirements.

There could arise a need, in the future, in some "personal contact to exchange views and convey the materials," he wrote and immediately instructed that it was "necessary to choose appropriate points and addresses alongside a conventional tourist itinerary... Trips to us can be charted to any country in Western Europe, the Americas, Africa or Asia. The satellite-countries should also be taken into account. We are studying possibilities of wireless contacts, using ham operators as the basis... At the beginning, it could be a unilateral sort of communication — from us to you — lest you should face the threat of exposure. A code-book, enclosed, will provide quite some assistance in exchanging regular letters."

This message alone would have apparently sufficed for a definite conclusion regarding the type of activities the reactionary and clandestine agencies in the West would want to have accomplished, using their "adherents" — separate individuals whom they had won over to their side by giving them dollars and "superior quality" foreign-made clothes. This document also hints, quite conspicuously, at further such assignments — gathering intelligence and transferring it to the British and U.S. embassies (particularly to the U.S. Consulate General whose Advanced Party had been active for



Fragments of the letter signed by "Yuri Bohdanivsky"

some time in Kiev and attempted to conduct just that type of subversive activities there). True, in a four years' time Yaroslav Stetsko had to back up a few steps. His message read: "The USA... has liquidated its Consulate in

Kiev... Thus, (all) our previous suggestions in regard to the possible usage of that consulate are now out-of-date."

Today, however, the OUN-ABN bosses still count on assistance on the part of diplomatic representatives from capitalist powers in what they view as their joint subversive-and-espionage work, aimed against the Soviet Union. Specifically, they have never ruled out the possibility that weapons and ammunition could be supplied via diplomatic missions. These supplies, the nationalists reckon, might come in handy at "zero hour" that would surely be determined from abroad. The above was made clear by Mikhailo Kukhtiak during his speech at the news conference in Kiev. In his statement, M. Kukhtiak referred to concrete letters and directives he had received from foreign centers.

Having made up their minds to establish contacts and to correspond, via emissaries, directly with their "friends in the Old Country," the nationalist schemers in the West not only took care of the code to be used in such communications, but also of the addresses to which a variety of information would be sent. Among these addresses were those of the British and U.S. embassies and their clubs in Moscow; of Bernard Levin, a journalist in London, Anatole Bedriy, one of the OUN-ABN top figures in New York, as well as the office and home addresses of other persons in different countries.

Whereas the OUN-ABN activities in what the nationalists referred to as "external sector" boiled down to espionage and other subversive

endeavors against socialist countries, their "domestic (internal) sector" would perhaps be best described as consisting in frenzied attempts at gaining control over all the nationalist organizations abroad.

Judging from the letters of the foreign center and the accounts of its emissaries, Yaroslav Stetsko would stop at nothing to overwhelm all those who, in his opinion, were not hundred-per-cent followers and propagators of the Bandera doctrine, or who were not members of his faithful political congregation.

Ya. Stetsko has exerted maximum efforts to portray his political rivals as unreliable partners and has done his utmost to convince his "well-wishers" and associates that they should support OUN (Bandera) only. To this end, the foreign center suggested forging favorable public opinion, letters, mandates and other information, presenting all this as the result of some work being done by "OUN underground networks" in the Soviet Ukraine, which were remained nonexistent.

In his letter, "Yuri Bohdanivsky" demanded that a "short statement" is needed in support of OUN's Bandera faction. "Such a statement, or statements," his message emphasized, "can be signed by either the local OUN leadership or, for that matter, by the National Defense Front of the Ukraine; see which, in your opinion, is best."

Before that, no one had ever mentioned the existence of some "regional" or any other OUN leadership in the Ukraine, let alone any of the nuclei of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. As for "Yuri Bohdanivsky," this

individual must have convinced himself that he did possess the right to be recompensed, in a quickest and most satisfying manner, for the amount of U.S. dollars he had spent.

Such a compensation had to come from the Ukraine, in the form of written statements confirming the "availability," in her territory, of faithful OUN (Bandera) outfits, headed by "local" OUN superiors, people from the National Defense Front, or from any other such "center." As regarded their names, he magnanimously left them to the discretion of the local "founders."

"Center" Demands Action

The OUN-ABN upper echelons have more than once been exposed while engaged in different kinds of fraudulent practice. Below is but a short summary:

— They tried to gamble on "underground radio messages from Eastern European countries," although the whole setup eventually revealed every such transmitter to have been located in West Germany.

— They supplied their bosses fake "illegal bulletins from the Ukraine," but their superiors didn't have any difficulty in detecting the apparent forgery, because all such "bulletins" came off the press at an OUN (Bandera) print shop in Munich.

— The nationalist crooks claimed that they represented "millions of followers," but the latter must have existed in their sore imagination only.

These nationalist VIPs are not held in trust even by those who would wish to believe them. This must have been probably the reason why the Banderist center pressed so hard for statements, "written testimonies" and other sham messages to be sent to the other addresses as well. The very first letter forwarded by the center pointed out that such messages "must be brought to the attention of the West via Western journalists accredited to Moscow, or by mailing them to prestigious Western newspapers and magazines." Later, Ya. Stetsko let it be understood that praising comments in regard to OUN-ABN, or him personally, should also be forwarded to Western radio stations such as the C.I.A.-controlled subversive *Radio Liberty*.

In keeping *Orest* up to date on the Reagan Administration's increasing antisocialist, anti-Soviet endeavors, Ya. Stetsko made a special point of informing him that a separate Ukrainian Section had been attached to *Radio Liberty*. In the opinion of the OUN-ABN leader, people there ought to have long discarded all verbal camouflage and further sharpened the spearhead of their anti-Soviet broadcasts. In fact, what Ya. Stetsko was after was to provoke "critical comments and demands from *Radio Liberty* listeners for better quality programs." Such "responses," naturally, should be mailed either to "*Radio Liberty*, direct, or to the Western media, or still to us here," he wrote. "Such separate requests should be sent to those radio stations which have not thus far developed Ukrainian-language broadcasts (e.g., the British BBC and the West German

Adresy zurnalistiw na Zachodni,
na jaki nozna wysylaty polityczni
zajawy i inszi dokumenty (ale ne
lysty, czy reczi przyznaczeni dla nas):

Mr. J. Miller,
135, Fleet Street,
London, E.C.4,
England.

Mr. Bernard Levin,
New Printing House Square,
Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C.1,
England.

Mrs Anna Arka,
575, Queen Street West,
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2B6,
C a n a d a.

Mr. A. Bedray,
136, 2nd Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10003,
U.S.A.

Addresses of Western journalists, the U.S. and the British
Embassies where the "Center" recommended that intelli-
gence be forwarded

Deutsche Welle), so they... include Ukrainian
programs in their broadcasts."

In fact, this author can only add one point
to what has been stated above; namely, that
this provocative suggestion tallied completely
with the C.I.A. interests.

Relatively not so long ago—in 1978, to be

British Embassy
Naberezhnaya
Morisa Toreza, 14,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

The British Club
15, Kutuzovsky Prospekt,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.
Tel.: 41-10-34.

American Embassy
Ul. Chaikovskogo, 19/23.
Moscow, U.S.S.R.
Tel.: 252-00-11.

The American House Club
Kropotkinskaya Naberezhnaya
Moscow, U.S.S.R.
Tel.: 46-80-68.

precise—another news conference took place
in Lviv, involving Andrew Klymchuk, a British
subject who stated that those in command of
FB OUN had given him the text of the "Appeal
of the Underground Ukraine" manufactured
abroad, instructing that he get some people
in the Ukraine to sign it, so the "Appeal" would
look *authentic* when delivered to his superiors
abroad. As in so many cases previously, this
sham operation fell through, although it would
be remembered at a later period, precisely
when Mikhailo Kukhtiak spoke at the news
conference in Kiev, informing those present
about a whole series of similar provocative
acts toward which his OUN-ABN bosses had
prodded him all along.

It was by no means coincidental that the
Western falsifiers continued to send piles of
writings done by nationalist hacks to the

Ukraine. Apart from their key purpose — poisoning the reader's mind (which, by the way, proved a total failure) — all that printed matter was meant as supplementary material in fabricating various "mandates," "powers," "appeals" and "letters" supporting Yaroslav Stetsko and the organizations under his guidance.

Texts copied in the Ukraine were proposed to be sent abroad with the help of couriers and emissaries representing Western nationalist centers. It was for the same purpose that similar "documents" had to be forwarded to Western publications, broadcasting companies, as well as to embassies and various representations of the United States and other Western countries in the Soviet Union. The OUN-ABN upper echelons and their bosses from the C.I.A. placed exceptional hopes in their secret agents with diplomatic credentials who operated under the guise of the Advanced Party of the U.S. Consulate General in Kiev. One of the "organization letters" made it clear that "documents indicative of struggle ought to be sent there."

The nature of such "documents" is revealed by those same "organization letters," and even more so by oral instructions from the nationalist emissaries and couriers who visited the Ukraine, posing as innocent tourists. In order to win extra favors from his C.I.A. and BND chiefs, Ya. Stetsko pressed his "associates in the Old Country" hard for producing and sending to his address powers, statements, etc.—all the paperwork he sought to bring his own plainly fraudulent schemes to fruition.

Even more instrumental for Ya. Stetsko would have been the evidence of some "demonstrations" or "rallies" of protest, directed against the social order in the Soviet Ukraine. "Counteraction on our part is necessary," he demanded in his letters; "An appropriate action should be taken in response, a declaratory one at least"; "Statements of protest must be spread in the Ukraine and forwarded to the West." Apparently, Stetsko was eager to see the "actions" he suggested acquire the biggest possible publicity. He would then have had all the evidence he needed to prove that his fraudulent setup consisted in not only writing on paper but also in *acting*. In a letter, he stressed that "statements to this end must be mailed to different Western addresses — those of governments, radio stations, newspapers, MP's, the Pope, President Reagan — also to various Western embassies in Moscow and elsewhere, as well as through tourists, journalists and other individuals en route to the West."

Stetsko's bosses must have grown impatient with his oral practice and sham written "testimonies from the Old Country." They must have likewise grown suspicious, and with reason, of their favorite's machinations. It was then they stamped their feet, demanding that at least *some action* be embarked upon. In light of the aforementioned, Stetsko's motivations and the problems that must have besieged him at the period become understandable altogether, particularly if one considers the closing paragraph in his letter which Irene Zelena brought in 1983. In that particular message

Ya. Stetsko succeeded in conveying the half-truth when he noted, "One thing is writing about something *here*; another thing is when that writing is done *over there* (i.e., in the Ukraine — A.S.), because it will be perceived differently, in that it will come *from you*."

Ya. Stetsko never subjected his addressees to the toil of writing the messages. In having them compose various kinds of "statements," he usually instructed that "appropriate excerpts from our resolutions can serve as reference material, provided these are brought in conformity with the circumstances"; "the more detailed illustrations relating to the information or suggestions concerned are to be found in various sources which are attached..." In other words, one shouldn't bother inventing things; all the inventing had been done for one, everything had been taken care of in Washington, Bonn or Munich. All a "friend in the Old Country" had to do was to go carefully through the material that had been smuggled across the border and kept in some secret places, choose appropriate texts, make a clean copy of them, editing it a little to lend it an extra touch of credibility, sign it, using some impressive appellation like "Front" or "Provid" (Leadership), etc., and send it to the West. There, professional falsifiers would do the rest, presenting their own ideas as though they were concepts and views contributed by "correspondents in the Old Country."

An Attempt on Youth's Life

A closer look at what has thus far been written by the current "führer" of OUN-ABN reveals quite an uncomely profile of a person with remarkably vile aspirations. Ya. Stetsko's wheelings and dealings are known only too well to a considerable portion of the Ukrainian communities abroad. Then why bother the reader with this unappealing character at all, one might wonder?

Come to think of it, disgusting individuals like him must be fully exposed to public view, the more so that Stetsko is at the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. These and other such reactionary bodies in the West are on the payroll of aggressive imperialist circles. Such organizations are being used as the executors of the dirtiest subversive missions against peaceloving countries, whose only "fault" is that they have turned down the capitalist way of development and the capitalist way of life, because it is based on ruthless oppression and exploitation of man by man. The malignant activities of OUN-ABN and their leaders must be revealed and condemned, because these organizations and their leaderships are among the carriers of misanthropy and neo-Nazism, because the spearhead of their criminal endeavors is aimed at whole nations, and against the Ukrainian communities in the West, particularly against the younger Ukrainians there.

Back in 1976, "Yuri Bohdanivsky" wrote; "Our attention was drawn to the problem of

youth... We elaborated on this complex at length during the Fourth and the Fifth Grand Assembly."

In compliance with the instructions of certain circles that the nationalist centers abroad concentrate on the necessity of using the younger generation to a greater extent, the OUN-ABN elite promptly came up with its own "concept" of attitude toward the youth. There is every reason to sum it up as a campaign for procuring fresh cannon fodder, producing highly effective, unthinking, obedient killer and ruiner robots in the service of imperialist aggressors. Evidence of this is found in numerous documents.

Below, for example, are documents of the so-called "Sixth Grand Assembly of OUN" which M. Kukhtiak received in 1983. In his speech at the assembly Ya. Stetsko shouted hysterically; "We have fallen right under the overall Western pacifistic trend and the profiteering mode of life. Militarizing the younger generation is going under. Our youth organizations do not follow the motto of militarizing their younger activists; our rest camps are not governed by any military-type, bodybuilding principles — (instead) these are equipped with warm-water pools and dwelling quarters that are being steadily made more comfortable, while improving the financial and managerial basis (of such camps)... Our people take a meager part in the army service, which is even more lamentable at the infantry schools."

Eventually, Ya. Stetsko informed that a military sector had been set up in the upper echelons of the Foreign Branches, Organization of

Ukrainian Nationalists. This sector was supposed to eliminate the aforementioned "drawbacks." In regard to its plans, Stetsko suggested the following program for soldiering the nationalist part of the younger Ukrainians abroad:

"The younger cadres must be enrolled in both foreign armies and the sector's training courses; handling firearms must be taught at regular sharpshooters' clubs, of which there are plenty in the U.S.A., Britain or Canada. After all, our young people must serve in the Army (as they do in England, for example) where they can receive appropriate training, specifically in guerilla warfare. First and foremost, a spirit of militarism must be awakened in them... Our camps must be exactly the way they used to be in the Ukraine: tents, exercises, maneuvers, no pools or (other) conveniences, only taking a swim in a cold river and sleeping in a tent or in the shade of an oak tree. Such is the style of a revolutionary soldier who lives in a bunker for years."

A bunker, a typical bandit's hiding place? Definitely and certainly so, because Ya. Stetsko obviously places great hopes in guerilla warfare, after the WWII standards, when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukr. abbr., UPA) nationalist thugs would crawl out of their bunkers (in fact, the whole of UPA had been organized, armed and trained by the Nazi SS and *Abwehr* to conduct subversive and terroristic operations behind the Soviet Army lines, in the newly liberated Ukrainian lands) to perform yet another atrocious act against the populace.

Ya. Stetsko did not have the time to participate in the butcher-work of the *Werwolf*. Today, however, he again urges the younger generation to turn *werewolves*, to crawl into trenches and bunkers, awaiting their chance to pull off their murderer's jobs. During that same "Grand Assembly," Ya. Stetsko did his utmost to back up the need in hiring ex-UPA *werewolves* to drill the nationalist youth. "It is high time," he declared, "that the younger warriors were trained by experienced UPA men, so we could have young cadres capable of building the system of bunkers, and of adjusting themselves to the environment to get themselves fully prepared for the struggle."

Pursuant to the directives of the actual masterminds behind the OUN-ABN activities (these concepts are evident in all the speeches and letters of instructions of the nationalist upper echelons), the OUN "combat HQ" passed a resolution, at a secret meeting, which was later endorsed by a Session of the Organization's "Grand Assembly." Among other things, this document contains a demand for "consistently militarizing OUN's members and sympathizers, as well as the whole of the younger Ukrainian generation."

This militaristic spirit also permeates the "Resolutions of the Grand Assembly in the Sphere of OUN Youth." These documents call for the setting up of riflemen (sharpshooters) clubs under the SUM's (Bandera's Ukrainian Youth Association's) auspices, as well as the formation of "military study clubs" under the sponsorship of other nationalist youth organizations. These documents also recommend the

inclusion of "military disciplines and combat practice in the curricula of all the seminars and training camp programs under SUM and TUSM*, as well as under the sponsorship of other youth organizations." They are calling on Western ham operators for using their radio contacts in the Soviet Union, "supplying them nationalist information".

In general, the nationalists are currently determined to charge the younger emigre generation with a "spirit of militarism," attempting to have these young people involved in their espionage-and-subversion activities directed against the Socialist World. Thus, OUN's Sixth Grand Assembly passed a separate resolution dealing exclusively with the problem of youth. Among its provisos was one that read: "Some of the younger generation — those who prove less susceptible to theoretical knowledge — will be kept busy studying technical subjects, with the emphasis on communication requirements, information and other pertinent assignments." In a word, should some of the younger trainees prove inadequately mentally developed, their problem would be resolved quite easily; those weak in the head would be made strong in the feet, to do the legwork in ensuring contacts, spreading printed malignant propaganda, etc. A dimwit, provided he is physically strong and trained well enough, could also suffice for all those "other pertinent assignments." Characters like Stetsko and his bosses even show their interest in these performers, because

* TUSM — Ukrainian Studying Youth Association — a Bandera-oriented organization with branches in the U.S., Canada, Australia and other capitalist countries.

the latter would not think over what sort of jobs they are given to do.

A typically Nazi style is increasingly manifested in Ya. Stetsko's approach to the problem of using young blood so as to meet the interests of some alien forces. During WWII, the nationalists had likewise put the younger Ukrainian affiliates to be unworthily used by Nazism, that worst enemy of the human race. At that period, it was done under the fraudulent slogans of "patriotism" (as, in fact, things like that are being done today), whereas in actuality the nationalists did so merely, and exclusively, to gain additional means and sources of building their private fortunes on the sweat and blood of all those young people.

Even now Ya. Stetsko does not conceal his intention to have others spill their blood. In accusing "Russian dissidents and Non-Russians" of coming out against the bloodshed and of being scared of it, the "führer" of FB OUN declared in his address to the Sixth Grand Assembly; "We won't be able to do without it (the bloodshed)!" This declaration was repeated in other resolutions during the Sixth Grand Assembly. The idea specifically found reflection in the corresponding resolutions of the Sixth Assembly, and, for example, in direct instructions to resort to plain terrorism, which was referred to as a method of activity, even as an "ABN concept." It became incarnated in concrete deeds of the OUN and, particularly, of its blood-stained *Sluzhba Bezpeky* (SB) Security Service.

It was Stetsko who partially revealed the actual source of the directives concerning the

need in getting OUN and the nationalist youth militarized. That one came from among the ruling circles of the United States and other capitalist countries. In part, he let it be known that the OUN's "Grand Assembly" had turned to those circles, asking them to make the following available to OUN-ABN:

"Modern means of mass communication and other advanced developments in technology and electronics;

"A transmitter, to be kept under OUN's exclusive control, so we could set up, politically and technologically, an OUN psychological warfare center."

Aware that their superiors in the West might well shrug this off as another inexpedient proposal, the assiduous nationalist assistants of the North American "hawks" asked them to at least make it possible for OUN-ABN to set up a "center or strengthen the political and psychological warfare with the help of competent bodies."

Actually, these "competent bodies" — the C.I.A., the West German BND and the British Intelligence Service — constitute the crucial factor without which the OUN-ABN elite would have never even dreamed of staying in existence, and by whose directives the nationalist upper echelons have been conducting their work.

Similar "initiatives" are discernible in the history of the treacherous activity of OUN. Every such undertaking was expected to please the imperialist forces, and, on the other hand, was meant to outsmart the less flexible rivals from among the nationalist camp.

When Nazi Germany launched her insidious attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, the nationalists plunged into what any sober-minded outside observer could only describe as a "first-come-first-served" contest. In the course of that political race, however, the nationalists traded in their native soil, offering it to the highest bidder. They were prepared and willing to strike a good bargain, whether or not it meant selling out their "Mother-Ukraine" by wholesale or retail means. The nationalists became especially vociferous when dozens of their "proposals" had surfaced, urging the creation of a "Ukrainian troop" as part of the *Wehrmacht* Armed Forces of the Third Reich. It is an established fact that in 1943 such a unit was indeed set up. It became known as the *Waffen SS Division "Galizien"* (SS Division "Halychyna") and was formally attached to the ill-famed *Waffen SS*. Presently, the "Sixth Grand Assembly of OUN" came up with the proposal that the "governments of the countries possessing numerous and multinational emigre communities organize military units made up of 'uni-national' groups representing different countries." Here the emphasis was once again on the establishment of 'one-nationality combat formations,' manned from among the younger generation of Ukrainian origin.

Ya. Stetsko Wants More Room ...

That this man is a case study in megalomania, is evident from his attempts to set foot on the "international arena." To this end, Ya-

roslav Stetsko has done his best to draw the biggest possible publicity to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which he has headed since 1946, the year of its inception. True, over the past couple of years Mr. Stetsko has made up his mind to distort certain facts, specifically when he claimed that ABN had been set up in 1943, without the knowledge and consent of the Third Reich, that it had been meant to fight on "two fronts" — i.e., against the Soviet troops and the Nazi invaders.

In reality, everything was much simpler. In March 1946 the British Premier Winston Churchill made his notorious speech at the American city of Fulton, in which he outlined an anti-Soviet program starting another stage in the cold war against the USSR and other socialist countries. Inspired by that instigating appeal, the Nazi collaborators who had fled to the West recalled Hitler's unrealized idea of getting unified the "multinational" anti-Soviet groups abroad. U.S. occupation authorities did not take long in approving the programs and drafts of the most important "resolutions" of the forthcoming anti-Soviet gathering in Munich. As a result, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was declared established on April 16, 1946.

After emerging in 1946, on the spur of the cold war, ABN could not have possibly conducted any hostilities on the "second front" — i.e., against Nazi Germany — simply because the Third Reich had by then ceased to exist. Still, most of the Bloc functionaries had only recently served as officials or secret agents of the Nazi SS, SD, *Gestapo*, *Abwehr*, police, or had been

otherwise employed by the German authorities. While facts and documents testify to one thing, Ya. Stetsko, a Nazi collaborationist, persists in asserting something altogether different—that he used to be a “fighter against Nazism,” trying to portray himself as one at least in the eyes of some of his brainwashed readers and listeners.

Today, he uses ABN as a handy implement in supplying U.S. and West German special services information on his, Stetsko’s “popularity.” An “organization letter,” dated January 1979, contains yet another suggestion that a “document” be made up, allegedly originating “from the Old Country” (i.e., from the Ukraine), with the help of which it would be possible to raise ABN’s, and consequently his own prestige, abroad. In part, he wrote quite pompously: “Of late we have come up with the project of what we term a ‘third political force’ in the USA that will consist of citizens from oppressed countries.” This, Ya. Stetsko must have figured, would produce a hypnotizing effect on the reader. Without giving the latter a chance to think twice, Stetsko continued; “An appropriate statement from the patriots in the Old Country would be most welcome and instrumental to this end.”

* * *

Yaroslav Stetsko is haunted by a thirst for undivided leadership day and night. Far from content with his self-styled position as “Prime Minister of the Ukraine,” this man becomes livid at the slightest gesture of disobedience or resistance on the part of even the smallest

nationalist organization or group, let alone such creations with pompous names as, say, the “World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU).”

In 1967, the Johnson Administration finally carried out a project which had been first conceived by leaders of Nazi Germany. It sponsored the holding of the first “World Congress” of anti-Sovietists in New York City, although neither that time nor would it later succeed in getting united the nationalists who were split beyond all hope by their internal feud. Still, an impressive signboard has remained, along with appropriations for promoting anti-Soviet, subversive activities presently conducted under the WCFU auspices. Naturally, the appropriations implied the acquisition of executors—the Ukrainian nationalists. No doubt, that also led to competition, to a reckless struggle for the privilege of pocketing an extra buck or two, which, in turn, meant that there was fighting under way over the key posts within the “World Congress.”

Be as it may, Ya. Stetsko revealed and continues to display his remarkable energy and resourcefulness in trying to gain unlimited control over WCFU. What he is after is not merely having himself represented at the “World Congress” but also making it an attachment to the Foreign Branches, OUN, and subordinating it to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, of which he is now President.

In fact, all these efforts are aimed not at somehow changing WCFU’s practical endeavors or political orientation, but at winning key positions within the said organization. True, as far as the Banderists have

not yet managed to establish their full control over WCFU, they continue to speak against what they agree is the Congress's "superfluous political involvement." Thus, a letter dated October 1976, noted that WCFU's mission should consist only in the "coordination of public and cultural affairs of the emigration, rather than representing it externally."

Ya. Stetsko actually expressed the same idea in January 1979 when he wrote, in one of his "organization letter" (signed by the alias *Rizbar*); "In November, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians held its third regular assembly... Certain circles seem inclined to turn it into a political center, but we are resisting this trend, because the political situation has become too sophisticated and difficult to handle to be brought forth at a forum which is a conglomerate of not only different political orientations but also people who are completely inexperienced in matters such as these."

Ya. Stetsko mentioned WCFU again in his letter of May 1980. Among other things, he made it clear that the "World Congress" was "nothing like a center of *political* organizations," but that it was one of only public bodies. "Therefore," he went on to explain, "authorizing a public body to represent the people's political interests would seem an amazing and degrading thing to do."

As time was running short before the next WCFU gathering (held in late 1983), Ya. Stetsko became growingly insistent in reminding his imaginary "people" in the Ukraine that they had to draw up and convey "documents" with the help of which he would

be able either to subjugate WCFU completely or have that organization fully compromised. In doing so, Stetsko hoped he would outsmart his rivals in their common struggle for confidence and money from clandestine agencies in the West.

He didn't even try hard to conceal his negative attitude toward WCFU, stressing that the latter "was a Trojan Horse, stolen inside the Ukrainian community, which had been placed at the head of the entire opportunistic camp." In his opinion, "WCFU, the way it stands today, is our losing game," because it "defends concepts hazardous to the Ukrainian community in the Free World, (which are also) hostile in relation to our Organization and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations."

WCFU also turned out to occupy significant room in Ya. Stetsko's "organization letter" delivered by Irene Zelena in 1983. Specifically, he informed that a "large-scale hostile campaign" had been unleashed on the eve of the next WCFU gathering. Among other things, Stetsko noted that that campaign was directed against his own person, as well as against the political views he was upholding. Last but not least, "this ignominious campaign turns out to have involved the Melnyk faction which is currently headed by Mykola Plawiuk." The onslaught, he continued, was certainly followed by all of the Melnyk "façades" — nationalist bodies like the Organization for National Rebirth of the Ukraine (Ukr. abbr., ODU), the Ukrainian National Association (UNO) in Canada, the Ideologically Affiliated Nationalist Organizations (ISNO) and such like. As a

result, Stetsko wrote, the following situation had developed, so far as WCFU was concerned:

"Plawiuk & Co. had already embarked on a press campaign in order to overtake control over that public center. On our part, we demanded point blank that that community issue retractions concerning their previous slanderous statements..., otherwise their WCFU membership would be challenged. On top of all else, they — i.e., ODVU, UNO, ISNO and others — had violated the WCFU principles unanimously adopted by the Manifesto of the First WCFU Congress in 1967... Be as it may, their leading role at WCFU is out of the question now."

Stetsko (*Rizbar*) predicts that "WCFU may become the future UCC (Ukrainian Central Committee), as different intelligence agencies may place it in Kubijovych's position." At this point, OUN's "führer" mentions the Ukrainian Central Committee, set up by the Nazis in Cracow (1940) under the Third Reich's occupation *Generalgouvernement*, headed by Hans Frank (one of the main war criminals, sentenced to death by hanging by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1946). That same year, Volodymyr Kubijovych was placed at the head of the Committee. His entire activity, both within and outside UCC, was directed by the Nazis, specifically by the *Abwehrstelle-Krakau* Army intelligence center in Cracow.

After cautioning his correspondents "in the Old Country" against any contacts with WCFU, that "public center in emigration which has very little to do with the Ukraine," Ya. Stetsko

An den Führer des Großdeutschen Reiches

Das Deutsche Volk, als auch
für ganz Europa bringen
wird.

Es lebe der Führer des
Großdeutschen Reiches!

Krakau, den 19. April 1941

Der Leiter des Ukrainischen
Hauptauschusses:



Dr. Volodymyr Kubijovych

Yaroslav Stetsko is of the opinion that various intelligence agencies may place WCFU under Kubijovych position. Photo shows a fragment of Kubijovych's message to Hitler

once again urges them to maintain liaison with him only. Haughtily, he declares that the "revolutionary OUN is the herald of the warring Ukraine abroad," and not WCFU or any other

such organization. The desire of FB OUN elite to gain undivided control over all nationalist bodies in the West, their militant attacks on their rivals are not unfoundedly described as a "Second Front" and another major aspect of their activity. Striving to extend his influence to the nationalist groups still out of his reach, Ya. Stetsko demands the following:

"In that sense, there is an extremely pressing need today in an expressive statement from the Old Country, otherwise chaos will continue to spread among both our people and strangers, concerning the key issues of our goals and ways of reaching them. Trends relating to Plawiuk and the *dviikari** with their defeatist concepts must be condemned and publicly erased from the community leadership."

The said "express statement" was badly needed by OUN (Bandera) as a sort of mandate granting them exclusive authority over the "World Congress." In his letters and other messages delivered via his emissaries, Ya. Stetsko urged all those "friends in the Old Country" to have him thus authorized not later than September-October 1983, which deadline must have been warranted by his ongoing fight for key posts to be gained at the WCFU gathering in November 1983.

Needless to say, Ya. Stetsko never received such a "mandate" from the Ukraine.

* *Dviikarstvo* — Ukr. lit., "doubleness"; Ya. Stetsko refers to one of OUN's "factions", originally under the command of two nationalist leaders — Leo (Lev) Rebet and Zenon Matla — currently known as OUN (Abroad) — Ukr. lit. *OUN Za Kordonom*, abbr. OUN (Z).

"Second Front": Fighting Rivals

WCFU is not the only target of the OUN-ABN elite's megalomaniac aspirations. In an "organization letter" of October 1976, the nationalist functionaries wrote that Yaroslav Stetsko represented "all the oppressed nations at the forum of the WACL* Presidium." What was more, they must have apparently resolved to obtain a "relevant document from OUN in the Old Country that would authorize the OUN leadership, headed by Ya. Stetsko, to represent OUN (Revolutionists) at the United Nations". Elsewhere, the nationalists made it clear that a "statement of OUN's representatives in the Old Country would be welcome in the sense that it would authorize the OUN leadership to act on behalf of the warring Ukraine, as well as to protect her interests."

Here Stetsko's intention to elbow his way among the contending leaders of other such outfits abroad, never hesitating to use the most fraudulent of techniques, is especially noticeable, letting alone his haughty phraseology and the persistent attempts to pull wool over the eyes of his audiences, while concealing his selfish, ambitious aspirations, using pompous verbiage about the "warring Ukraine" and "her interests." Naturally, Mr. Stetsko would have enjoyed and used to his best advantage any opportunity of such "authorization" from the Ukraine; in fact, he would even have done with a mere written statement to the effect,

* WACL = World Anti-Communist League.

because it would have made it easier for him to combat his adversaries among other nationalist groups abroad. Besides, he would have thus received an extra trump card, winning over to his side the disoriented immigrants from the Ukraine, their sons and daughters, even their grandchildren born in capitalist countries. To this end, the OUN (Bandera) center attaches special importance to the "resolutions" and other written "instructions" that were supplied to the Ukraine by such generous portions. All these "documents," however, are marked by the same fraudulent nationalist "refrain"; "Your comments and amendments concerning these resolutions will be most welcome and appreciated."

Ya. Stetsko does not appear to tire of praising his own OUN, defining the latter using epithets like "nucleus," "direction-pointer," "milestone," "motive force," "prime-mover," etc. At OUN's "Sixth Grand Assembly," he went so far as to declare that "history has placed on its (OUN's) shoulders" the burden of a task which is "the greatest revolutionary mission in the history of mankind, after the birth of Jesus Christ." Apparently getting carried even further away, losing all common sense, Ya. Stetsko proceeded to assert that he was second only to Jesus Christ in the "world history of all times."

* * *

Western media never misses a chance to bring up the issue of the so-called "dissidents" in its continuous anti-Soviet campaigning.

This sort of people primarily include individuals expelled from the Soviet Union at one time or the other.

Ya. Stetsko found himself envious even of their quick-passing publicity, created by Western propaganda. Hence his written characteristic of one such dissident. "Pliushch hates nationalism and the nationalists. Russians like Solzhenitsyn, Amalryk, and especially some of the Jews hold a better view of the nationalists (Banderists)."

In another passage, he seems to explain the actual reason behind the Banderist anxiety over the attention being granted the dissidents by the reactionary Western circles (since this attention somewhat slackens the degree to which these circles count on their nationalist henchmen): "It is important to see to it that the West is not led astray by and that it does not count much on the ideas of the Russian dissidents and all those fitting the Pliushch caliber, because this would bring a great deal of harm to the very idea of independence. What one must bear in mind is... that our people* be prevented from affiliating themselves with the Russian Imperial setup of NTS — the National Workers Union — which has presently overtaken our socioeconomic and program positions."

After formulating his attitude toward the dissidents, Ya. Stetsko proceeded to broach

* Such magniloquence is generally intrinsic to Ya. Stetsko; what he actually means in this particular case is the bulk of participants in foreign nationalist organizations over which the Banderists are so very anxious to retain control.

the main issue, noting that "this phenomenon must be evaluated by the underground network in the Ukraine. A brief statement is needed."

So this is why OUN (Bandera) wanted all that mythical "underground," "front" or "local leadership of OUN" that badly. If truth be told, the Banderists sought all of it not so much for the introduction of some new forms of anti-Soviet activities as for meeting their own selfish ends, trying to outsmart their potential adversaries and win extra favors from various special agencies in the West, which would benefit their organization and its leader.

Sometime later (May 1980, to be precise), Ya. Stetsko warned that "The dissidents have brought us little good, if at all... That is why we have actually dissociated ourselves from Valentyn Moroz, because, apart from principal differences, we can by no means appraise his behavior in either public or private life (his divorce and breaking up the family; egocentricity and love for money). The only reason we're bringing you up to date on this is to confirm the correctness of your stand—your estrangement from the 'dissidents,' keeping yourselves immune against being indented with them."

Still, the OUN "führer" is not bothered so much by the immoral conduct of the dissidents as by what he describes in a letter (July 1982) as the fact that "Pliushch and Moroz are aiming to drive a wedge into our patriotic unity... Pliushch preaches neo-communism and neo-Marxism, while Moroz keeps on hurling pailfuls of dirt at us... wishing to become another Bismarck and writing all kinds of nonsense,

some of which is directed against the Patriarch himself."

Stetsko's views on dissidents have not undergone any substantial changes since then. On one occasion, he wrote; "Recently, an FBI man published a piece of work where he mentions Moroz, claiming that the latter was a double agent... He (Moroz) is an anarchist and egocentrist, and we feel puzzled somewhat, because our people in the Ukraine have failed to notify us in advance concerning his identity and profile. By and large, Ukrainian dissidents produce a negative effect on our cause as they turn up here (in the West) in person."

* * *

During his public appearances, and when composing letters of instructions to his fictional "accomplices" in the Ukraine, Ya. Stetsko often mentions The Lord. On separate occasions, he is even known to have called on the reader for "help" in promoting "an idealistic world-view as a source of one's moral and ethical strength..." Every now and then, he can't but repeat the well-memorized Nazi formula *Gott mit Uns*, Our Lord Be With Us (a major slogan at the Third Reich).

Ya. Stetsko, this habitual speculator, does recognize the Church, the creed, and the Creator, provided these can be used as fashionable means of gambling on the pious sentiments of the believers as additional possibilities of his getting hold of yet another rung on the Ukrainian nationalist hierarchical ladder. In the meantime, his only truly upheld belief is in

By way of example, Ya. Stetsko wrote in a letter of July 1983:

"Stephen Sulyk, the new metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USA; earlier, when he was an ordinary priest, he visited his relatives in Lviv...

After doing away with both metropolitans, the author of the "organization letter" sums it up; "The goal of the two is clear—to destroy organized Ukrainian life which stands on the Ukrainian independent positions."

Зачем у тому ж році голландці були задоволені поштою на різні західні адреси утралі, радіостанції, газети, посольство на парламенту, папів Римського, преса. Релігійна, амальгамові різниці через Захід у Москві і т.п., а там перелізанні на Захід через утралі, починаючи з імені ~~.....~~

Fragments of the letter signed by Stetsko "Rizbar" which Irene Zelena brought in 1983

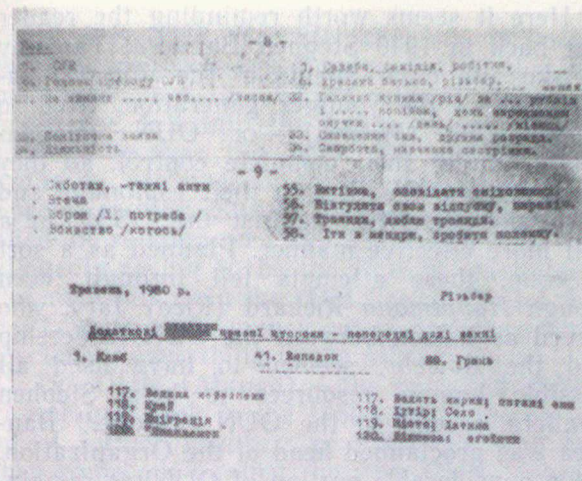
Eventually, Ya. Stetsko changed such cover-up formulas for the more accurate descriptions of "Ukrainian churches" abroad and their leading ministers, specifically those in opposition to the late Cardinal Joseph Slipij.

OUN: Internal Feud

Judging by numerous documents, including letters signed by him, Yaroslav Stetsko is especially irreconcilable toward his old enemies and rivals from OUN (Melnik) and the Organization's latest offshoot—the so-called OUN (Abroad) or OUN (Z). He usually never misses an opportunity to settle “personal accounts” with them. To do so, he resorts to the well-tried method of keeping all the contending “leaders” under constant surveillance, awaiting the right moment to spill the dirt, making public facts he has gathered about their conduct.

Ya. Stetsko immediately started to brainwash his “people in the Old Country” in this direction, not wanting to put off this important task till tomorrow.

First, he let it be known that “After a protracted struggle within the Melnyk community, the leadership appeared to have been overtaken by people whose attitude toward the Ukrainian SSR was an opportunistic one (e.g., Oleg Shtul, M. Plawiuk, O. Zinkevych), whereas some elements like Ya. Haivas, Z. Knysh and others stepped away from the active life of that group. A similar situation exists inside the group of the Foreign Representation of UHVR, led by M. Lebed and the Rev. I. Hryniokh, as well as in that of OUN(Z)—the so-called *dviikari*—headed by B. Kordiuk and R. Ilnytsky who, even though they are at odds one with the other, are basically oriented toward a policy of convergency and cooperation between the USA and the USSR, as well as toward



Amendments to the code suggested by the “Center” for use in correspondence

the so-called cultural exchanges. These, however, are mere symptoms of a disease, mostly brought from without, because the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian public abroad... remains under our ideological influence.”

All the traditional elements of a game are present here—while praising his FB OUN, Ya. Stetsko hurls pailfuls of dirt at the hostile factions of the Organization, accusing them of the worst crimes (from the point of view of his FB OUN, to be sure) like opportunistic attitude to the Soviet Union, orienting themselves toward cooperation and cultural exchanges between the USA and the USSR.

Here it seems worth reminding the reader that back in 1940 Stephen Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and other agents of the *Abwehr*, nationalists of the younger generation, tried to place OUN (Melnik) — or OUN (Solidarists) — under their complete control, so they could use the OUNites in their espionage and subversion activities against the USSR in a still more effective manner. Planned as a sort of coup, these attempts fell through, even though *Hauptmann* Richard (Rico) Jary, who served as liaison between the OUN leadership and the *Abwehr*, seemed to have used all possible human resources to help Stephen Bandera ascend to the OUN "throne." Bandera was proclaimed head of the Organization, but a considerable portion of OUNites remained in the Andrew Melnyk camp. It was thus OUN became split rather than placed under new leaders. The Organization was now divided into the Banderists (who had proclaimed they were "revolutionists" or the "revolutionary part of OUN") and the Melnykists (these had made it clear that they adhered to a "single," "undivided" and "consolidated" OUN — hence the current appellation OUN (Solidarists)).

The said Oleg Shtul (now deceased) was at the head of OUN (Melnik); at present, it is led by Mykola Plawiuk. Osyp Zinkevych is a member of the OUN upper crust, but he is primarily an agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which makes him a formidable contender in Stetsko's struggle for recognition in the eyes of that proverbial cloak-and-dagger institution.

In July 1978, Ya. Stetsko made it known through his emissary Dmytro Farion that the messages from the "Old Country" should by no means fall into the hands of the Melnyk faction, because the latter, he alleged, were prone to use everything for their own ends. Special caution, Stetsko warned, should be applied in relation to Osyp Zinkevych who was allegedly trying to be the first to get hold of the materials from the "Old Country," and that he "tries to make money out of anything, while disclosing everything in the press."

The OUN (Abroad) — the so-called *dviikari* emerged back in the 1950s. Its bulk consisted of former members of FB OUN who had then come out against the then OUN "führer" Stephen Bandera and whom the latter had condemned to extermination. Seeking refuge from the Banderist *Sluzhba Bezpeky* (SB), which had by then been ordered to exercise the death warrants, Mykola Lebed and other members of the opposition fled overseas and settled within the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (ZP UHVR — Ukr. abbr. notion mentioned earlier in this booklet).

As a reward for loyalty to the Foreign Branches, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, this Bandera hackwriter shared the "happy news" with his "friends in the Old Country" that they would be eventually making a breathtaking career in the uppermost echelons of OUN. He promised them that they would be made members of the *Provid* Presidium, the Supreme Council, the Chief Control Body, and the Supreme Court. The nationalists abroad

were extremely generous in promising quick and easy promotions; "People from among your communities have every right to delegate, one member each, to the Presidium of the *Provid* and to our other bodies."

In his letter "Yuri Bohdanivsky" somewhat lifts the curtain over this mythological phenomenon which the OUN propagandists call "inter-organizational democracy." OUN's leaders take quite a fancy to using the term *provid* (leadership; leaders), applying it to what they know as a collective body of authority within the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, over and above which there can presumably exist no superiors. "Yu. Bohdanivsky," however, let it slip at one time that "In accordance with the OUN structure... the Chairman, together with the members of the Presidium, summon the required number of members of the leadership (*provid*) and form OUN's leadership (*provid*) jointly with them." A short and precise statement; OUN's leader and his closest assistants determine the numerical strength of the *provid*, assigning, firing its members, shifting their posts and shuffling their positions as they please, thus securing control over the obedient performers of their instructions.

* * *

After Ya. Stetsko thought he had accomplished his task, brainwashing his "adherents in the Old Country," having allegedly set them against OUN (Melnyk) and *dvikari*, this Banderist leader proceeded to demand additional facts from the Ukraine which he figured he would be able to use against his adversaries

in the ongoing fighting within the nationalist camp, in the lasting struggle for power.

At the news conference in Kiev (November 1983), Mikhailo Kukhtiak stated that Stetsko had authorized him, via the letters and separate directives brought him by specially assigned emissary "tourists", to "gather data on the past conduct of Mykola Plawiuk of the village of Rusiv in Sniatyn District, Ivano-Frankivsk Region; Dmytro Furmanets from Dubenshchyna, Rovno Region, plus several other characters hailing from the Ukraine."

The emphasis, obviously, was on Plawiuk, head of OUN (Melnyk) *provid*, as well as on Furmanets, a member of that same leadership. Mikhailo Kukhtiak supplied the subsequent events:

"Furmanets is still remembered in Volyn. This memory is a dark one. During the period of German Nazi occupation he served in a special SD punitive detachment, together with which he fled abroad. Talking of Plawiuk, there are still his relatives who live and work in Sniatyn District. These are good, honest people. In fact, Mykola Plawiuk had at one time also taken an active part in the public life of Stanislav (currently Ivano-Frankivsk) Region which was reunited with the Ukrainian SSR. Then came WWII. It revealed Plawiuk's true identity. It had awakened in him the spirit of a mercenary-minded person which he has remained ever since. For his former fellow citizens, relatives and villagers he became and remains a traitor.

"A curious detail: after receiving a report on Furmanets's war crimes Stetsko didn't even

bother to reply. Instead, he thanked me profusely for the data on Plawiuk's past. "In OUN," Stetsko wrote gleefully, "he is known under the alias *Znedolenyi* (i.e., Unfortunate, Unlucky — A.S.) and I will certainly see that his tough luck stay with him until his dying day".

As a matter of fact, Ya. Stetsko was mad rather than amused that his school of crookery had not been accepted by his "friends in the Old Country" as much as he had wanted them to. At the conference, Mikhaiilo Kukhtiak recalled with sarcasm:

"I also suffered from Stetsko's wrath. He was quite annoyed by my inaptitude in evaluating important political information and putting it to proper use. In the future, he demanded, I would have to provide such significant data as the one concerning Plawiuk in the form of letters allegedly coming from some active underground network in the Ukraine that would demand the removal of such characters from key posts at nationalist centers abroad. Both that reproof and the instruction found reflection in Stetsko's subsequent directives."

Lest his "accomplices" in the Ukraine should fall under the influence of some rival nationalist organizations in the West, Stetsko and other leaders of FB OUN and ABN resorted to measures which M. Kukhtiak described as "developing an immunity." To this end, the Banderists sent along several Melnyk-minded booklets, particularly the "Questionnaire for Individuals Who Have Visited the USSR and Satellite Countries" and the "Questionnaire for Tourists and People Arriving from the USSR," which contained hundreds of questions serving

obviously espionage purposes. The Banderists did not condemn the "Questionnaires" — for the simple reason that they were themselves engaged in exactly the same type of activity. What really bothered them was the competition they had to sustain on the part of OUN (Solidarists), which was especially severe in the field of intelligence, the latter being a leading trend in the activities of all OUN's factions — Melnyk, Bandera and the *dviikari*.

In order to enhance his influence on the "associates in the Old Country," Ya. Stetsko boasted in his letters that an increasing number of new "political groups" were joining ABN, among them the Afghan *mujahedeens* and emigres from the Polish "Solidarity" Union. As for Stetsko's OUN, he wrote that it was an "irresistible attractive force," drawing even those who had spent a longer period in the "hostile camp." By way of example, Stetsko referred to Yaroslav Haivas, previously a figure of quite some weight at OUN (Melnyk) and at the Ukrainian National Council, who had finally joined the "only right," "revolutionary" OUN, and who was now utilizing his old contacts among the Melnyk adherents in the interests of the Banderist *Sluzhba Bezpeky* (SB).

Apparently, this particular information was intended as a carefully weighted caution against a possible switching of sides on the part of all those "friends in the Old Country, men and women alike." The same purpose could have also been served by the information, passed by *Rizbar* and *Henya* through their envoys, that OUN (Melnyk) was an unreliable organization, infiltrated by "alien intelligence services."

[illegible]

Fragments of letters from "Hanya"

tionships with foreign clandestine agencies. Irene Zelena had been one such agent for a while (previously, she had been a member of the OUN-Melnik faction). Before openly siding with the Banderists, she had provided the latter with a considerable amount of information concerning confidential plans masterminded by the leadership of OUN (Solidarists).

* * *

Mikhailo Kukhtiak correctly noted during the news conference in Kiev that all that malice, which was by and large native to the

Stetskosc, had eventually been given vent in their "private correspondence." In these letters, Yaroslav, and especially Yevhenia-Slava Stetsko, persistently extended invitations to visit them abroad, praising all the many benefits and advantages of the Free World. At the same time, almost every such message betrayed something even these frenzied advertisers of the Western mode of life had been especially careful to conceal from public view. Below are several excerpts from Yevhenia-Slava Stetsko's letters.

(Dec. 14, 1974). "Our costs are soaring now; there is inflation under way; while the cost rates keep on mounting, wages are not raised in proportion to the needs. This is what the economic situation in the USA is all about... Here you will never discern an individual amidst the huge, multi-faced crowds that seem to keep and keep running hurriedly, heading somewhere..."

(June 25, 1975). "Unfortunately, I have a sick heart, high blood pressure, and ulcers, so that's how we are living the rest of the days counted out for us, being here in a strange land."

It is worth mentioning here that Yaroslav Stetsko also has a poor health. Incidentally, Dmytro Farion, his emissary (a professional physician), stated on one occasion that Yaroslav Stetsko was suffering a grave case of inflamed joints that cost him the swelling of the limbs, while the prescribed therapy served to worsen his stomach and eyesight. On top of all that, Stetsko proves a persecution mania case; he believes that all of his ailments are

the result of people trying to poison him. Whenever he experiences an aggravation in his illness, he does not allow anyone to approach his bed, except his wife who does the spoon-feeding.

"(Dec. 30, 1980) I do not seem capable of locating old good friends here; all of them appear to have been scattered in this huge country where the Almighty Dollar is the cult."

So there you have the Stetskosc. On the one hand, the couple have been doing their utmost to flirt with the U.S. reactionaries, telling them how much they love the "country of George Washington." On the other hand, their pathological hatred of everything around them, even their frankly scornful attitude toward America, her way of life and social order, are clearly apparent.

Inevitable Fiasco

There is a Ukrainian saying: "Lies will take you across the world, but you'll never be able to come back." This old truth fully applies to Ya. Stetsko; falsehood and deeds directed against his own people have led him across the world, but all of his fraudulent undertakings have invariably fallen through, which was neither accidental nor unexpected. The reason for all such abortive schemes is not the person behind them — be it Stetsko or other "leader" of any given nationalist community — but the simple fact that the bankruptcy of ideas and the failure of plans and concrete under-

takings are characteristic of the Ukrainian nationalists of all times. The Ukrainian nationalism is doomed to failure because it emerged as an antipode of the revolutionary liberation movement and was from its very inception directed against the revolutionary masses. Despite all the efforts to advertise their adherence to "independence," the Ukrainian nationalists turn out incapable of conducting an independent life. Their history is a record of betrayal of their own people, while constantly serving forces that are alien and hostile to the Ukraine.

That was exactly how the nationalists acted whenever people experienced the hardest of ordeals. Three days after imperialist Germany declared war on Russia — on August 4, 1914 — a group of nationalist devotees set up a pro-German "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine" in Lviv and sent a message to Kaiser William II, wishing him "complete victory of the German Army". They also swore allegiance to the Austro-Hungarian Crown, pledging "loyalty to the Emperor and the State."

That was how the nationalists behaved in 1918 when the bourgeois nationalist *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council) and its administrative and political acts became a tool for the German troops' open invasion of the Ukraine. In compliance with the instructions of kaiser generals, the leaders of the Central *Rada* promptly issued the so-called Fourth Universal (Decree) in January 1918, proclaiming themselves "independent" rulers of the Ukraine. Its sole purpose was to grant the German Kaiser the formal right to bring his troops into the

Ukraine. Nor was it coincidental that the Ukrainian people called the Central *Rada* nothing else but *Tsentralna Zrada* (lit., "Central Betrayal").

During WWII, the nationalists openly collaborated with the Nazis. They helped them murder freedom-loving Soviet people or send them to Germany for slave labor. The so-called "champions of independence," were doing their utmost to please the Nazi occupiers who, by the words of Goering, one of the major Nazi war criminals, cynically declared that the Ukraine "from now on and for ages belongs to the Germans."

History offers irrefutable evidence that the Ukrainian nationalists have always suffered defeats together with their foreign masters who tried to thrust on the Soviet Ukrainian people their rule or make it accept their way of thinking.

The enemies of the Soviet Ukraine in the West persist in trying to bring her harm. In order to carry out particular anti-Soviet schemes, they repeatedly turn for help to the political bankrupts from among Ukrainian nationalist organizations abroad. These architects of ideological subversion entertain the illusory hope that in conditions of objectively extending, comprehensive contacts among countries having different social systems they will succeed in creating prerequisites for an ideological penetration in the socialist countries to achieve the "ideological softening," "erosion" within them, or even to make them "collapse."

All these enemies of the Soviet Union must be governed by their trust in miracles when

placing such hopes in the bankrupts from the foreign nationalist medium.

Both the Soviet and foreign journalists present at the news conference in Kiev (November 22, 1983) had every opportunity to see with their own eyes what all those nationalist "miracle-makers" were really worth. They were provided with convincing, documented proof of some such "miracles," aimed against the socialist countries and devised by clandestine agencies in the U.S., West Germany and their "wards"—the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and other such reactionary formations. All these journalists could plainly see that such organizations specialize in falsehood, juggling with facts, libel and slander meant to lure separate individuals in the cobweb of espionage and subversive activities against the socialist community of states. On the other hand, they try to elbow past their rivals in their continuous internal feud, struggling to win extra favors from the C.I.A. and other subversive centers of the West. As for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the new exposé of their crookery and moral dirt once again demonstrated their dark misanthropic essence, a well as their total bankruptcy.

The materials the journalists were shown during the news conference in Kiev, including excerpts from foreign press, instructions and letters signed by leaders of OUN-ABN (some of these documents were used in this booklet) constituted a convincing proof of the basic trend in the activities of OUN-ABN, namely gathering intelligence and conveying it across

the frontier, via the British and U.S. Embassies in Moscow (as had been the case previously with the Advanced Party of the U.S. Consulate General in Kiev).

The OUN-ABN elite failed either to organize the sending of such information to numerous addresses abroad or to have it secretly delivered to the American or other Western diplomatic representatives. Nor could it arrange for the transfer of such data across the Soviet border by emissaries or couriers from nationalist centers. For a number of years, the Banderist center in Munich and its inspirers at the Central Intelligence Agency and the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* had literally "run idle" in that direction, while inadvertently exposing their strictly confidential plans of hostile activities against the USSR and other countries of the socialist world.

In addition, Mikhaïlo Kukhtiak stated at the conference, some of the emissaries from abroad proved rather talkative persons who had told him a lot of things that would have been hardly approved by their superiors at OUN-ABN, and even less so by the upper echelons at American and West German special agencies.

During the news conference in Kiev, documented evidence was produced to the effect that the Ukrainian nationalists are merely executors of the will in general and concrete instructions in particular of the C.I.A., the BND and NATO intelligence services that try to meddle in the internal affairs of socialist countries and use hardened criminals like Stetsko and other persons of his calibre in their subversive undertakings.

It was during that duel between a Soviet citizen and foreign spies that the nationalist centers publicly revealed their true disgusting identities.

Similar infamous results will certainly be achieved by any other encroachments of spies, saboteurs, propagators of the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. Donning the garbs of "guardian angels" or disguising themselves as "ideological fighters," "researchers," "travellers," etc., won't help them either. Soviet people are staunch in resisting any forms of hostile bourgeois ideological influence. They have learned well to recognize the enemy and expose its criminal intentions. They effectively protect their socialist Motherland against all hostile encroachments, against treacherous diplomat-spies and tourist-provocateurs, against all those "well-wishers" from various foreign anti-Soviet organizations like OUN, ABN...

The communist outlook and patriotism of the Soviet people serve as a reliable barrier in the way of any subversive schemes of the Western "catchers of human souls."

Editor: B. Zaliznyak
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